

SECRET**WHITE HOUSE SITUATION ROOM**

Executive Registry

82-13776

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FM THE VICE PRESIDENT

NSC Review Completed.

TO THE PRESIDENT

SECRET EYES ONLY

NOV 23 10 05 AM '82

ER

NOTE FOR BILL CLARK: BILL. PLEASE SEND A COPY OF THIS TO
SECSTATE AND DCI FOR THEIR EYES ONLY

SUBJECT: ACCOUNT OF AFRICA TRIP

1. YOU WILL BE IN CALIFORNIA BY THE TIME I GET BACK TO WASHINGTON WEDNESDAY EVENING. I WOULD LIKE TO SEND YOU THIS ACCOUNT OF MY FASCINATING SEVEN-NATION VISIT TO AFRICA. IT'S LONGER THAN MY NORMAL CABLES TO YOU. BUT I'M NOT SURE WHEN I'LL SEE YOU NEXT.

2. THE TRIP HAS GONE WELL. AND I HAVE BEEN RECEIVED THROUGHOUT WITH EXTRAORDINARY HOSPITALITY. THANKS FOR SENDING ME. I BELIEVE USEFUL WORK WAS DONE WITH THE IMPORTANT LEADERS I MET, MANY ARE TRUE FRIENDS AND ALL ARE IMPORTANT TO THE SUCCESS OF YOUR AFRICA POLICY. I HIT ESPECIALLY HARD ON SOUTHERN AFRICA. NAMIBIA'S INDEPENDENCE WAS ON THE FRONT BURNER IN ALL COUNTRIES -- A BURNING ISSUE IF I EVER SAW ONE. I UNDERScoreD THAT THERE IS

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NO WAY TO GET SOUTH AFRICA OUT OF NAMIBIA UNLESS THE ANGOLANS COMMIT THEMSELVES TO A PARALLEL WITHDRAWAL OF CUBAN COMBAT FORCES. THEIR PUBLIC CRITICISM AND RHETORIC NOTWITHSTANDING. EACH OF THE AFRICAN LEADERS UNDERSTANDS THE PRAGMATISM OF OUR APPROACH AND ALL WANT US TO SUCCEED. THIS THE PRESS HAS NOT UNDERSTOOD, AND AS A RESULT IT HAS CONSISTENTLY MISUNDERSTOOD AND MISREPORTED MY MEETINGS WITH AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS. AFRICAN PRESIDENTS FEEL MOST STRONGLY ABOUT NAMIBIA AND REGARD ITS INDEPENDENCE AS THE MOST IMPORTANT ITEM ON AFRICA'S POLITICAL AGENDA. AT THE SAME TIME, THEY ARE PREOCCUPIED BY THE GROWING VIOLENCE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA WHERE SOUTH AFRICA AND ITS NEIGHBORS ARE LOCKED IN A CYCLE OF CROSS BORDER MILITARY ACTION AND SUBVERSION.

3. KAUNDA OF ZAMBIA PUT THE CASE WELL WHEN HE SAID SOUTHERN AFRICA IS LIKE A CANOE ON A FAST-MOVING RIVER. ITS OCCUPANTS -- THE BLACK AND WHITE LEADERS OF THE AREA -- HAVE LOST THEIR PADDLES AND THE CANOE IS HEADING FOR A WATERFALL. THE UNITED STATES, KAUNDA SAID, IS THE ONLY NATION CAPABLE OF GIVING THE REGION LEADERSHIP AND BRIDGING THE GAP BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND ITS BLACK NEIGHBORS.

4. THE FEELINGS OF AREA LEADERS ARE MIXED -- OUT OF A SPIRIT OF AFRICAN SOLIDARITY, THEY MUST SUPPORT ANGOLA ON CUBAN WITHDRAWAL; AT THE SAME TIME, THEY WANT THE CUBANS OUT OF AFRICA. I FOUND THEM UNABLE TO SUGGEST ANY OTHER WAY THAN THE TRACK WE ARE PURSUING TO REACH AN AGREEMENT. WE WILL BE ACCLAIMED IF WE PERSEVERE. THEY ARE PRINCIPALLY WORRIED WE MAY NOT SUCCEED.

5. AFRICA'S SEVERE ECONOMIC CRISIS REALLY MADE AN IMPACT ON ME. MANY OF OUR BEST FRIENDS ARE IN SERIOUS TROUBLE AND FACE A DIFFICULT POLITICAL FUTURE UNLESS THE WORLD ECONOMY TURNS AROUND. I STRESSED THE VITAL IMPORTANCE OF EACH GETTING HIS ECONOMIC HOUSE IN ORDER AND DISCOURAGED THEM FROM EXPECTING INCREASES IN ASSISTANCE

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FROM US. I KEPT EMPHASIZING THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS YOU ARE FACING AT HOME. THE AFRICAN LEADERS NOW HAVE A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE TOUGH DECISIONS YOU HAVE HAD TO MAKE. THEY ARE ALL GOING THROUGH THE IMF WRINGER. AND THE PROCESS IS NOT EASY OR WITHOUT RISKS TO THEIR STABILITY.

6. HERewith IS A THUMBNAIL IMPRESSION ON THE LEADERS I MET:

7. PRESIDENT PEREIRA OF CAPE VERDE WAS BRIGHT AND IMPRESSIVE. HIS TINY DROUGHT-RIDDEN COUNTRY FACES HORRENDOUS PROBLEMS. BUT HE HIMSELF MADE A STRONG IMPRESSION.

8. PRESIDENT DIOUF OF SENEGAL IS INTELLIGENT AND MOST IMPRESSIVE. HE HAS THE BEST GRIP OF ANY ON HIS ECONOMY AND IS COMMITTED TO OPENING SENEGAL TO STRONG DEMOCRATIC PRACTICES. HE WATCHES DALLAS ON TV IN FRENCH.

9. NIGERIA'S SHAGARI IS FACING A TOUGH ELECTION IN 1983 WHICH WILL TEST HIS AMERICAN-STYLE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION WHICH I FEAR IS UNDERCUT BY PERVASIVE CORRUPTION. THE DECLINE IN OIL REVENUES HAS HURT HIS COUNTRY. BUT HE IS WORKING TO CUT EXPENDITURES. I ONLY SAW HIM FOR A FEW MINUTES. HE WHISPERS.

10. ZIMBABWE'S MUGABE IS TRYING TO PULL HIS WAR-TORN NATION TOGETHER AND BUILD A MULTIRACIAL SOCIETY. I STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF SOUND ECONOMIC POLICIES, NATIONAL RECONCILIATION IF CIVIL WAR AMONG BLACK FACTIONS IS TO BE AVOIDED, AND RESPECT FOR THE RULE OF LAW AND THE END OF CIVIL LIBERTIES' ABUSES. WE DISCUSSED THE TWO YOUNG AMERICAN HOSTAGES WHO HAVE BEEN HELD BY REBEL ELEMENTS SINCE MID-SUMMER, 1982. MUGABE IS DOING ALL POSSIBLE. HE HAS A PROFESSIONAL TEAM WORKING THE CASE, AND WITH LUCK AND TIME, THEY SHOULD BE FOUND. I WAS IMPRESSED WITH

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MUGABE'S INTELLECT. I ALSO MET JOSHUA NKOMO, NOW MUGABE'S OPPONENT.

11. KAUNDA OF ZAMBIA HAS DECIDED TO TURN A PAGE AND COOPERATE WITH US. HE IS WORRIED WE HAVE BITTEN OFF MORE THAN WE CAN CHEW IN TRYING TO GET THE ANGOLANS TO AGREE TO CUBAN WITHDRAWAL. BUT HE IS INTERESTED IN HELPING US IN QUIET WAYS. KAUNDA IS DEEPLY RELIGIOUS -- AN ENGAGING LEADER.

12. MY CALL ON KENYA'S PRESIDENT DANIEL ARAP MOI WAS TIMELY. MOI IS BADLY SHAKEN BY AN AUGUST COUP ATTEMPT AND A DETERIORATING ECONOMY. HE TOLD ME HE FELT WE ARE TAKING HIM FOR GRANTED AND DO NOT APPRECIATE THE RISKS KENYA HAS TAKEN FOR US. ESPECIALLY IN THE AREA OF MILITARY ACCESS RIGHTS. I LET MOI GET HIS CONCERNS OFF HIS CHEST AND THEN FORCEFULLY TOLD HIM HE NEED HAVE NO DOUBT ABOUT YOUR FRIENDSHIP AND SUPPORT. MOI APPEARED MOVED AND TOUCHED HIS HEART TO INDICATE HE WAS REASSURED. MOI SEEMED LESS CONFIDENT THAN MOST OF THE OTHER LEADERS I MET. HE WAS BETTER ONE-ON-ONE THAN IN THE LARGE STRUCTURED GROUP.

13. WITH ZAIRE'S MOBUTU, I CARRIED A MESSAGE OF AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP BUT QUIETLY ENCOURAGED HIM TO TAKE THE DECISIONS NECESSARY TO REFORM HIS BADLY MISMANAGED ECONOMY. GIVEN ZAIRE'S IMPORTANCE AND SUSTAINED SUPPORT FOR OUR POLICIES, WE SHOULD COOPERATE POLITICALLY. THERE IS NOT MUCH WE CAN DO TO HELP HIM ECONOMICALLY UNTIL HE SETTLES WITH THE IMF AND TAKES THE TOUGH REFORM DECISIONS REQUIRED. MOBUTU MAKES A POINT -- HE SAYS IT OFTEN APPEARS THAT THOSE WHO OPPOSE THE UNITED STATES GET MORE AID AND SUPPORT THAN THOSE WHO SIDE WITH THE U.S. MOBUTU IS CHARISMATIC AND RUNS THE PLACE WITH A STRONG HAND.

14. I RETURN CONFIDENT THAT WE HAVE STRONG RELATIONSHIPS IN AFRICA. THE AMBASSADORS WERE ALL IMPRESSIVE AND THE STATE DEPARTMENT GAVE US GREAT SUPPORT, PARTICULARLY CHET CROCKER

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AND FRANK WISNER. FRED WETTERING OF NSC WAS MOST HELPFUL, TOO.

15. THE PEACE CORPS IS MAKING AN OUTSTANDING CONTRIBUTION. AND I CAME AWAY IMPRESSED THAT WE GET OUR MONEY'S WORTH FROM THE PEACE CORPS.

16. IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, WE HAVE TO KEEP STEADY IF WE ARE TO SUCCEED IN AN ENDEAVOR OF FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE TO US AND AFRICA. NO ONE BUT THE USA CAN BE THE CATALYST FOR A SOLUTION TO NAMIBIA.

17. I BELIEVE WE HAVE COME A LONG WAY IN DISPELLING THE NOTION THAT THE ADMINISTRATION IS INDIFFERENT TO AFRICA AND THE PLIGHT OF OUR FRIENDS THERE. THE SPEECH I GAVE ON AFRICA POLICY IN NAIROBI WAS DESIGNED TO REINFORCE THIS MESSAGE. THE TERRAIN IN AFRICA IS VERY FERTILE FOR AN EXPANSION OF AMERICAN INFLUENCE. AFRICA NEEDS US, AND THE SOVIETS HAVE LITTLE TO OFFER.

18. WHEN WE GET BACK, I'LL FOLLOW UP WITH KEY FIGURES IN CONGRESS, BLACK AMERICAN LEADERS, AND SOME PRESS.

19. HAPPY TURKEY DAY TO YOU AND NANCY. BARBARA SENDS HER LOVE.
BT

WASHFAX RECEIPT

THE WHITE HOUSE

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Nov 23 9 55 AM '82

EYES ONLY
URGENT

MESSAGE NO. 750 **EYES ONLY** CLASSIFICATION **SECRET** PAGES 5
 FROM WNSR
 (NAME) (EXTENSION) (ROOM NUMBER)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION Account of Africa Trip

TO (AGENCY)	DELIVER TO:	DEPT/ROOM NO.	EXTENSION
A	Dir. Casey	7.5824	
B	Sec. of State		

REMARKS:

Copies only to be made for
Addressees.